

ARM. ԳԻՆԻ *GINI*, GRG. ՂՅՈԾՄ *TVINO* ‘WINE’

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In the *Mediterranean Review*, Aron Dolgopolsky (1987:21) reports that Grg. ՂՅՈԾՄ *tvino*- ‘wine,’¹ usually considered a direct descendant of Mediterranean **woin-*, is actually a loan from Proto-Armenian **γvin-*, a precursor of Armenian *gini* ‘wine,’ clearly reflecting an intermediate stage of the regular Armenian shift of **w* to Arm. *g*.² Though others have mentioned this possibility before,³ it is necessary, I believe, to examine the etymology anew.

¹ Cognates include Ming. *γwin-* and Laz *γ(w)in-* (Klimov 1964:203-04). Svan *γvinel* (*γwinäl* according to Palmaitis [1985:269]) is assumed to be a loan from Georgian. The suffix *-el* is a diminutive in Svan, as noted by Gippert (1994:119), who also points out (*ibid*) that the *-o* grade is in no way a regularity, but secondary.

² For this passage of **w* to Arm. *g*, note also Arm. *gar̄n* ‘lamb’, Gk. [Gortyn.] *ῥαρήν* ‘id.’, Skt. *úrāṇa-* ‘sheep, lamb’.

³ This suggestion goes all the way back to Hübschmann AG (1897:434-35). Hans Vogt repeated it years later (1938:334); Djahukian mentions it on a number of occasions, (1978:212, 1987:346). Both seem unaware of Hübschmann’s original coupling.

Georgian developmental phonology shows nowhere a passage of a Proto-Kartvelian *w- to Grg. *γv-*; in fact, PK *w moves consistently to Grg. *v-* and Svan *w-*; Laz and Ming. are less clear, and produce a variety of responses, among them *zero-*, *v-* and *b-* (Fähnrich & Sardshweladse 1995:126-138). So, we know that **γvino-* could not have come into Georgian from the original Mediterranean source, for it would begin with Grg *v-*, not *γv-*.

Yet there are complications. Another term, apparently related, is revealed in OGr. *ვენაყ venaq-* 'vineyard,' Ming. *binex-* 'id,' Laz *binex-* 'id.' Here we find OGr. *v-* as would be reasonably expected, but with voiced labial stops for Laz and Mingrelian. It could not be from the same source as Grg. *γvino-*, but rather must stem from an original *w-. There is an example of a passage to *p-* (PK **wrc-*, Grg. *vrc-*, 'broad,' Laz and Ming. *pirč-* 'id') but this is unparalleled as well. We can accept these shifts of *w-⁴ in Laz and Mingrelian to a *b-* or *p-* on faith alone, for a full analysis of that development is not clear. It is reasonable to assume, though, that they developed out of an earlier *v.

Dolgopolsky (1987:22) claims that OGr. *venaq-* is directly from Indo-European **woin-*, not, as for Grg. *γvino-*, from PArm. **γvin-*.⁵ Yet there are problems. The Grg. *-e-* vowel should of course be *-i-*, and there is no productive Georgian suffix *-aq*. Dolgopolsky explains that development by analogy to Gk. *ῥῑνῆ* 'vine'⁶. This he derives from IE

⁴ A close survey of Fähnrich and Sardshweladse (1995:126-38) show that a PK *w in final (*stw-*) or medial (**swe-*) position reflect *v-* alone, or *zero*.

⁵ There is evidence that the Georgian term is possibly from the Proto-Armenian form **γvini*, an *-i* stem. For though the Grg. *γvino-* would appear to be an *-o* stem, not an *-i* stem, it also has, uniquely, a genitive *γvinis*, and an instrumental *γvinit* (*gratias* Michael Job).

⁶ The Italic cognates, Fal. *vi[no]m*, Umb. *vinu* are usually considered loans from Lat. *vīnum*. Yet Beekes (1987) points out that this is unlikely since Plt. **voino-* would have passed to Lat. *vīnum* too late to have influenced the Faliscan form, which dates to 600 BC. Beekes

**woineH*, suggesting a shift of a laryngeal to Grg. *q*. We can see that this whole etymology is a pretty make-shift job, for though the assumption of a Mediterranean origin for OGrg. *venaq-* 'vineyard' has merit, the invention of the suffix *-*eH* > Grg. *-aq* has no clear parallel and is unprovable.⁷ We also wonder how one term, 'vineyard,' can be direct from the Mediterranean form, while the term that would surely be the more common, 'wine,' and coexistent, suffers Armenian interference alone. It seems likely that both would be affected the same.

That Grg. *γvino-* stems from Armenian is quite reasonable and there is no contradictory evidence. The other Kartvelian cognates show the same shift, Laz *γvini*, Ming. *γvini*. No PK **w-* becomes Grg. *γv-*, and PK **γw-* regularly yields Grg. *γv-*: e.g., PK **γwent-*, Grg. *γvent-* 'wax, fat,' etc. (Fähnrich & Sardshweladse 389-391). And the Armenian material logically (though not with evidence) supports the contention that Georgian *γvino-* reflects an Armenian passage, for the movement of PArm. **w* to Arm. *g-* would in all likelihood have gone through a phase with labio-velar friction. Hence **γv-*.

This leaves us with the contradictory OGrg. *venaq-* 'vineyard,' and Dolgopolsky's suggestion that it is from Indo-European (earlier Mediterranean), a point that is unsure. A half century ago this suffix was investigated by G. V. Tsereteli, who suggested (1947:18-20) a later loan relationship with the similarly shaped ORuss. *виняга*, Slov. *vinjaga*,

therefore proposes an original **woiHn-*, suggesting **wiHn-* for proto-Italic.

⁷ There is some slight support, and we could look for it in an Arabic loan word in final *اع* -*a'*, I know of none in Georgian but there is an odd Armenian parallel, found in the *Dictionary of Yerevan* (Adjarian 1971.I:73 [*HAB*]) where we find Arm. *աբբոկ* *abbok* (probably *աբբոկ* *arbok* originally) 'four times' from Ar. *أربعة* *arba'a* 'four.' Here an Armenian velar replaces a final Semitic pharyngeal, lending credence to the possibility that a final Grg. *-aq* possibly could be derived from some deep post-velar sound. See Amalyan 1972:132.

etc. 'vineyard.' This loan etymology, superficially interesting, is dependent on a passage of a Proto-Slavic *-ag*, to Grg. *-aq*, which would seem improbable.

Thus we are left with an unhappy lack of a precise conclusion. The etymology of Grg. *γvino*- 'wine' is seemingly unassailable, yet the parallel development of *venaq*- 'vineyard,' with the wrong vowel and the inexplicable suffix (hence having only the *v* and the *n* systematically acceptable) is a disaster, and this in turns sheds dark light on the appropriateness of the etymology of Grg. *γvino*-.

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